

Summary Evaluation Report
for EB.1/2013

**Joint UNHCR/WFP Impact Evaluation of Food Assistance
to Refugees in Protracted Situations in Chad**

(Original version: French)

Executive summary

This theory-based impact evaluation has been managed jointly by the Offices of Evaluation of, the World Food Programme and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It uses a mixed-method approach to assess the outcomes and impacts of the food assistance delivered to refugees from the Central African Republic since their arrival in southern Chad from 2002 and draws lessons regarding its contribution to durable solutions for the refugees.

The evaluation found that in the first years following displacement, general food distribution in the form of full rations has allowed a majority of refugees to reach acceptable food consumption levels. It also had a positive effect on global acute malnutrition, which remained generally acceptable overtime even in camps where rations were reduced or limited to vulnerable groups.

Refugees' wealth levels and income sources, however, have not significantly improved overtime and do not match those of the local population. A deterioration of refugees' food consumption both in terms of quantity and quality and an increase in short-term coping strategies ensued when rations were reduced in the longest-established camps. The expected evolution towards an increased capacity of the refugees to develop their own livelihoods in the medium term and as a result maintain their food security despite a reduction in food assistance did not occur. In addition, chronic malnutrition remained high, and did not improve over the years and some evidence of gender-based violence, notably post-distribution conjugal violence was noted.

These mixed results are attributed to the absence of a common strategy between agencies for promoting self-reliance along with a lack of coherence between the stated objectives and the activities implemented - partly explained by recurrent funding constraints. Despite objectives gradually shifting from meeting immediate food needs to promoting self-reliance, general food distribution of full or reduced rations, along with nutrition programmes, remained the principal modality of assistance over time and complementary or alternative modalities were marginal. In addition, livelihood support has been limited, late and insufficiently diversified given the local constraints. Finally, the implementation and outcomes of nutrition programmes have also suffered from the lack of a clear strategy and actions to combat chronic malnutrition and of technically qualified partners.

The evaluation makes a series of recommendations for WFP, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and their partners, with a view to guide them towards the realisation of their longer-term objectives, including self-reliance and to improve the programme management, monitoring and evaluation of the food aid, nutrition and protection activities.

Introduction

Features of the Evaluation

1. This evaluation is part of a series of four impact evaluations jointly commissioned by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2011 and 2012.¹ The objective of the evaluations is to assess the contribution of food assistance to durable solutions for refugees in protracted situations.
2. The evaluation focuses on the assistance provided to refugees from the Central African Republic (CAR) since their arrival in Chad as of 2002. It aims to account for its outcomes and impacts and to provide lessons on how the two agencies can improve the contribution of food assistance to refugees' self-reliance at both local and global levels.
3. Impact was measured by verifying a theoretical model developed on the basis of the two agencies' explicit objectives, which posit that their combined activities contribute to increased refugee self-reliance. The theoretical model includes three stages of evolution from the refugees' initial situation upon arrival (S1) to a maximum level of self-reliance (S3), with a corresponding diminishing level of food assistance for each stage.
4. Since the camps were set up at different times and assistance levels decreased overtime when Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) found an adequate level of self-reliance, it was possible to compare the theoretical model with the actual evolution of the situation.

	Situations		Expected results
Short term	S1	General food distribution (GFD) – full rations.	Lives saved; improved food consumption; safety and protection provided. Minimal level of self-reliance.
Medium term	S2	GFD – half rations.	Improved food basket, improved nutritional status (acute and chronic malnutrition). Increased capacity of beneficiaries to establish livelihoods.
Long term	S3	GFD replaced by distributions targeted to Persons with Special Needs (PSN – 20% of the population).	Refugee self-reliance; local integration; resettlement or repatriation.

5. The evaluation used mixed and complementary methods to triangulate the information gathered: a review of secondary data, semi-structured qualitative interviews, a quantitative survey, direct observation, and presentations of preliminary findings.
6. The quantitative survey was conducted in three camps that were representative of situations S1 (Moula), S2 (Amboko) and S3 (Yaroungou), and was based on a sample of 641 refugee households. 246 local households in eight neighbouring villages were also surveyed to compare the refugees' situation to the local population and provide an indication of the level of self-reliance that can

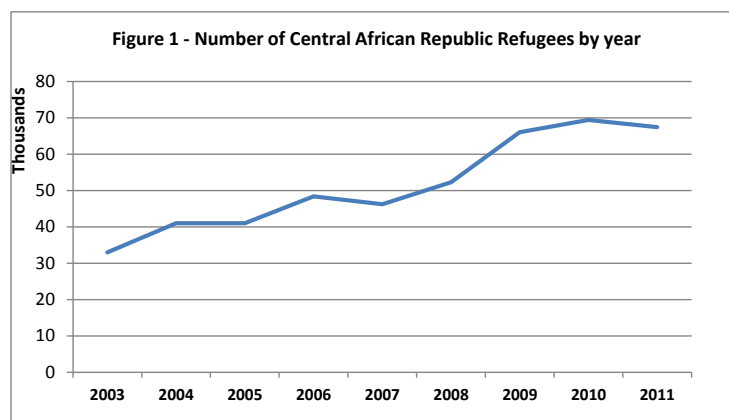
¹ The other evaluations took place in Rwanda, Ethiopia and Bangladesh.

² The theoretical model also takes into account complementary inputs from partners, including livelihood support from UNHCR mostly in the form of provision of seeds and tools and income generating activities.

realistically be reached given the local context. Forty-three per cent of the households surveyed were headed by women.

Context

- Since 2002, Chad has hosted up to 70,000 CAR refugees who arrived in the country in successive waves. UNHCR does not anticipate repatriation in the near future, although many spontaneous returns have been reported.



Source: UNHCR annual reports.

- Chad has ratified the 1951 and 1969 (African) conventions on refugee status. It recognizes *prima facie* all the CAR refugees, but does not allow them to obtain citizenship. The Chadian authorities support a policy of integration and self-reliance for the refugees, and this translates into allocation of land to refugees, freedom of movement, as well as freedom to engage in economic activities and to access markets for buying and selling products.
- The seven CAR refugee camps are located in southern and south-Eastern Chad in the regions of Logone Oriental, Moyen Chari and Salamat, which are among the country's most advantaged regions in agro-climatic terms and where respectively 9 percent, 18 percent and 20 percent of households were food-insecure in 2009, compared with a national average of 17 percent (WFP vulnerability survey). The population in these regions is ethnically similar to the refugees; their main activity is agriculture, along with livestock farming, fishing, hunting and wild food picking.

Area	Goré area			Maro area		Haraze area
Region / department	Logone Oriental / Nya Pendé			Moyen Chari / Grande Sido		Salamat / Haraze-Manguaigne
Camp	Amboko	Gondjé	Dosseye	Yaroungou	Moula	Koy / Moyo (*)
Population	11,040	9,660	9,090	11,000	4,200	7,800
Arrival year	2002	2004	2005	2002	2007	2008 (*)
Ethnic groups	Kaba; Arabs	Kaba	Peulhs	Ngam Gawaama	Mbaye Ngam	Rungu
Economic activities	Agriculture Commerce	Agriculture	Livestock Agriculture	Agriculture	Agriculture	Fishing Agriculture

Source: UNHCR database, February 2012. Notes: The area refers to the name of the main city next to which camps are located. (*) While the refugees in Daha, which is located on the border with CAR, were resettled in April 2011 in the more distant camps of Koy and Moyo, many of them nonetheless chose to remain in Daha.

10. Assistance and protection for the refugees are ensured by government entities in particular the *Commission nationale pour l'accueil et la réinsertion des réfugiés et des rapatriés* (CNARR, the National Commission for the Reception and Reinsertion of Refugees and Returnees), WFP and UNHCR, as well as national and international NGOs. The European Commission also funds two Linking Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD) programmes aiming to support the refugees' transition toward self-reliance and integration.
11. **WFP food assistance** was implemented through six programmes from 2003 to date: three emergency operations (EMOPs) followed by three protracted relief and recovery operations (PRROs). The objectives of meeting refugee food needs remained relevant throughout most of the period in light of continuing refugee influx until 2008, but evolved as of 2005 to integrate the promotion of self-reliance for the earlier refugees. The main WFP donors during 2003--2011 were the United States of America (53 percent), Japan (12 percent), the European Commission (11 percent) and the United Nations Central Emergency Response Fund (9 percent).
12. **The main food assistance modalities** have been GFD and nutrition programmes (treatment of severe and moderate malnutrition, and supplementary feeding for pregnant and lactating women). On average, 97.5 percent of the planned beneficiaries received assistance, of which 52 percent were women. Despite objectives gradually shifting towards the promotion of self-reliance, food-for-work interventions remained marginal and mainly benefited the host population as did food assistance for people living with HIV/AIDS.
13. For the first three to five years after their creation, all camps received GFD in the form of full ration (2,100 kcal/day). The rations were then reduced to 1,200 kcal/day, or curtailed. There are two exceptions. In Yaroungou, the GFD was discontinued without the reduced ration stage after two and a half years of assistance and was replaced by targeted distributions to persons with special needs (PSN) identified by UNHCR, and by *ad hoc* GFD during lean seasons. In Gondjé, the distribution of full rations lasted only one year.

TABLE 3: GFD RATIIONS OVER TIME

	2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008		2009		2010		2011		2012	
	Ju		Ju		Dec	Feb	Feb		Feb	Dec	Feb		Apr	Apr		Apr		Feb		
Amboko	S1		S1		S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1	S1
Gondjé	S1																			
Dosseye																				
Yaroungou																				
Moula																				
Koy																				
Moyo																				

S1 - Full ration
 S2 - Half ration
 S3 - No GFD (only assistance to PSN)

Source: WFP Goré

Results: Outcomes and Impacts of Food Assistance

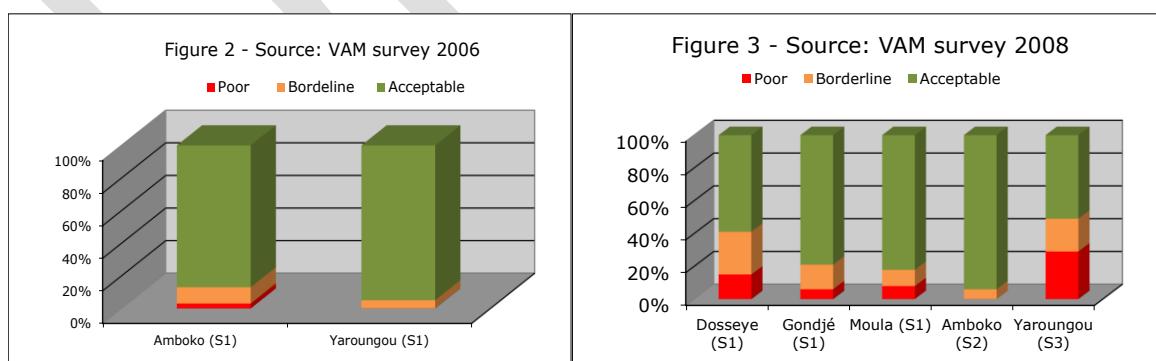
Food Security

14. The outcomes and impacts of food assistance on refugees' food security were measured using the food consumption score and the coping strategy index (CSI).³

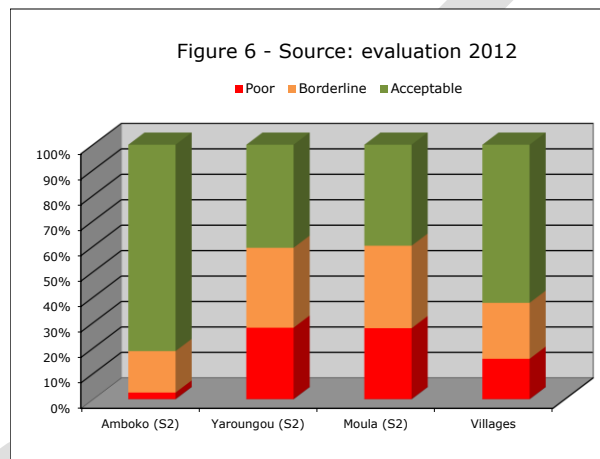
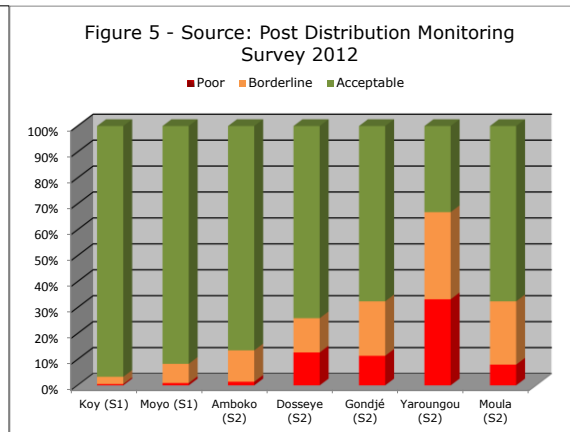
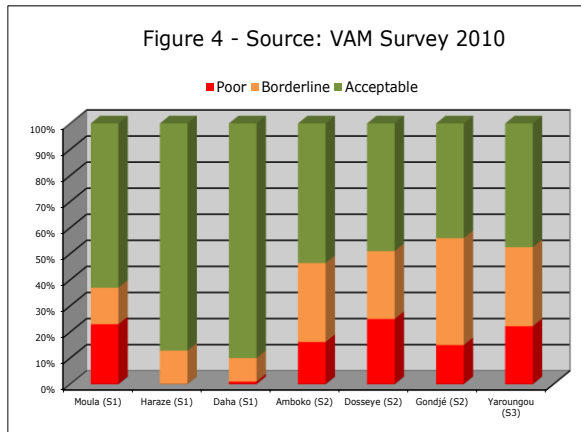
³ **The food consumption score** combines food diversity, food frequency (the number of days each food group is consumed), and the relative nutritional importance of different food groups, based on recall. **The coping strategies index** measures how often twelve strategies were used by the households during the seven days preceding the survey

15. The regression analyses conducted for the camps surveyed show that the two main factors influencing food consumption score are the food assistance received and the recipients' wealth levels. On the other hand, the coping strategy index was found to be little influenced by the level of food assistance received, and to depend mostly on households' wealth level and ethnicity.
16. That explains the particular case of Amboko, where the population's food consumption is better than in similar (S2) camps or neighbouring villages. This population also relies less on coping strategies, especially the most negative ones. Indeed, the socioeconomic characteristics of the Amboko refugees are unusual. One third of the households are Arabs, most of whom are traders and considered "richer" than the other ethnic groups, a perception confirmed by the fact that Amboko has the highest proportion of households in the wealthiest category (see Figure 9).
17. Aside from Amboko, the following trends were identified in relation to food consumption (see figures 2-6):
 - The camps benefiting from full rations (S1) have always had a vast majority of households with acceptable levels of food consumption, even when refugees had recently arrived and still had only limited livelihoods options (Haraze, Moula and Daha in 2010);
 - The proportion of households with acceptable food consumption scores has consistently been higher in the camps benefiting from full rations (S1) than in the camps receiving half rations (S2) and in the camp where GFD has been discontinued (S3: Yaroungou). This proportion was also higher than the one measured through the evaluation survey in neighbouring villages in 2012.
 - The reduction of rations has systematically led to a deterioration of household food consumption (quantity and type), although there is no significant difference between the S2 camps and Yaroungou (S3).

Figures 2-6: Distribution of households by food consumption scores (2006–2012)



to overcome difficulties in accessing food. The strategies include: Consume cheaper food; consume more wild food as part of the diet; send members of the household to eat elsewhere; borrow food from relatives/neighbours; get indebted to buy food; eat seeds that had been kept for the next agricultural season; reduce the quantity of food consumed during meals, reduce the number of daily meals; reduce the food consumed by adults so that children can eat; reduce the food consumed by the non-productive members of the household; go entire days without eating.



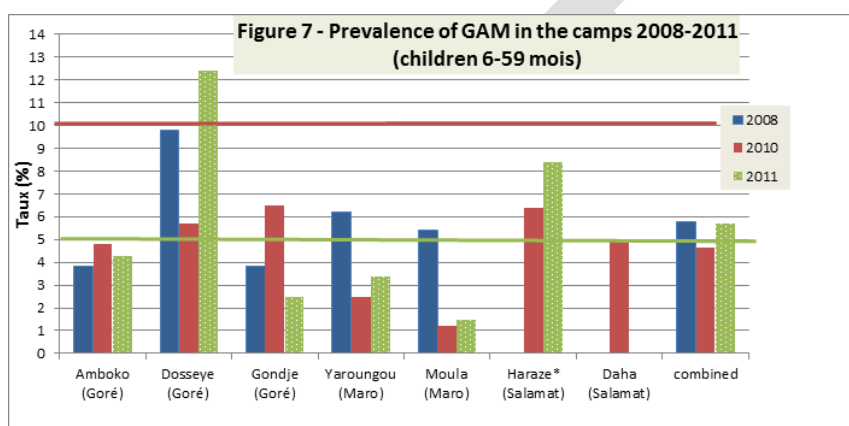
18. In terms of coping strategies used by households to overcome difficulties in accessing food, the evaluation evidenced that households in Yaroungou (S3) and Moula (S1) resort more often to coping strategies to get food (with CSI score of 55.7 and 58.4 respectively) than does the local population (49.7). A major component of these strategies involves modifying or reducing food consumption, which can adversely affect households' food security and their future. By contrast, the CSI score in Amboko is 42.1.
19. Comparison with the villages shows that food assistance has had a positive differential effect on the food consumption of female-headed refugee households (see table 5). Those households, however, resort more often to the most severe coping strategies (31 percent, versus 18.5 percent for households headed by refugee men).

Gender of head of household	Poor intake	Threshold intake	Acceptable intake
Camps			
Men	16.9	29.4	53.8
Women	21.3	23.5	55.2
Villages			
Men	8.0	25.7	66.3
Women	32.1	20.3	47.6

Source: 2012 evaluation survey.

Nutrition

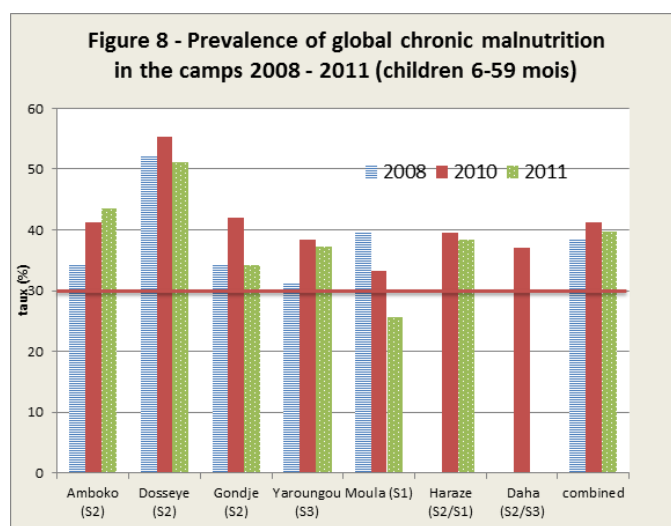
20. Analysis of available data since 2008 shows that the rates of global acute malnutrition (GAM) have varied over time and between the camps, but have most often stayed at 'internationally acceptable' levels (<5 percent) below the regional averages for the local population (Chad GAM, 2006--2010: 16 percent).
21. A notable exception is Dosseye, where GAM rates have never been below the acceptable threshold, and were above 10 percent in 2011. This difference cannot be attributed to food assistance, which was similar to that provided in other camps where the rates were lower, but is owing to other factors, including the morphological characteristics of the population, most of whom are Peulhs⁴.



Source: 2012 evaluation survey.

22. Comparison of the GAM rates across the camps in the S1, S2 and S3 categories shows the positive impact of GFD in the form of full rations (S1) on GAM rates, which is consistent with the findings on food consumption (see paragraph 16). In contrast, there are no clear differences between the S2 and S3 situations attributable to the level of food assistance received.
23. Chronic malnutrition rates have remained high (above the 30 percent threshold) in all the camps, and particularly in Dosseye, but are comparable to the national rates for Chad (39 percent). The incidence of anaemia is largely above the 40 percent threshold in all the camps, and two out of three refugee children suffer from it, indicating a major public health problem. The comparison of the S1, S2 and S3 situations, whether in terms of chronic malnutrition or anaemia, does not produce clear patterns suggesting a correlation with the level of GFD received.

⁴ Peulhs are nomadic pastoralists. A number of studies have shown that measurement of GAM rates using weight by height tend to over-estimate GAM rates in pastoralists as they have a different morphology. Complementary analyses using the Mid-Upper Arm Circumference (MUAC) show less alarming results. Yet, GAM rates in Dosseye are higher than in the other camps and deserve specific attention.



Source: 2012 evaluation survey.

Livelihoods

24. The outcomes and impacts of food assistance on the refugees' livelihoods have been measured using two indicators: income sources and wealth ranking.⁵ These reveal that even after seven years of presence in the country, refugee households have not managed to develop livelihoods comparable to those of the local population.
25. **Agriculture.** Agriculture deserves special attention as it is the main activity of most households and is practiced by respectively 92 percent, 94 percent and 98 percent of the households of Moula, Yaroungou and the villages, where 75 percent of the population derives income from agriculture. By contrast, trade is preponderant in Amboko and only 55 percent of households derive some income from agriculture.
26. Agriculture is more developed in Yaroungou (S3) than in Moula (S1). Contributing factors include the longer stay in the camp, the larger size of the cultivated plots, and a greater support to access agricultural inputs and tools. However, after seven years in the country, the refugees' agriculture is still notably less developed than that of the local population both in terms of area cultivated and yields.

	Moula (S1)	Amboko (S2)	Yaroungou (S3)	Villages
Area cultivated (<i>ha</i>)	1.42	2.63	2.69	3.06
Grains harvested (<i>kg</i>)	258	543	330	976

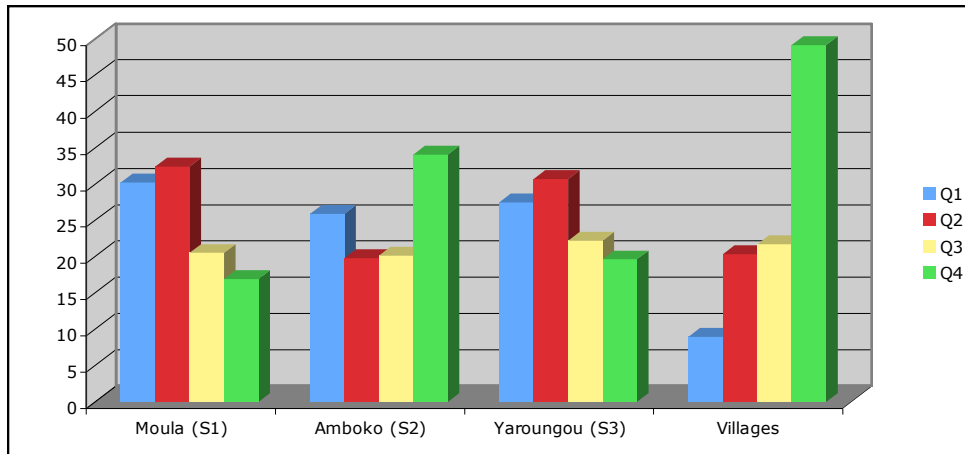
Source: 2012 evaluation survey.

27. **Income.** Households in the S1 and S3 camps display similar income structures. Besides agriculture, livestock rising and food rations selling, identified as the most frequent sources of income, they resort in the same proportion to short-term activities such as brewing and selling alcohol; selling firewood, hay or wild plants; performing daily labour; and survival sex. These activities are indicative of a greater vulnerability level.

⁵ Wealth ranking is determined by a number of indicators on asset ownership (as a proxy for poverty).

28. Another vulnerability indicator is the high mobility of refugees who go and seek elsewhere favourable conditions for engaging in economic activity. Refugees sometimes travel hundreds of kilometres from the camps, including in the Central African Republic and are away from periods ranging from a few days to several months at a time.
29. **Wealth.** The Moula (S1) and Yaroungou (S3) camps have similar wealth profiles, with a predominance of households in the poorest categories. The longer presence of the Yaroungou households (over seven years), in comparison with Moula households (four years), has not allowed them to accumulate more capital.

Figure 9: Distribution of households by wealth



Source: Evaluation survey, 2012. Wealth is calculated on the basis of household capital. Level 1 represents the poorest households, level 4 the wealthiest.

30. Food assistance has played both a positive and a negative role on the development of household livelihoods. When combined with medium-term activities such as agriculture, it allows for more of the households' needs to be met and reduces the extent to which refugees resort to unsustainable short-term activities. When rations are reduced, short-term activities increase and in Moula, the recent ration reduction has also constrained access to informal credit, because households can no longer use their rations as debts repayment. The GFD cycle also has a regulating effect on migration, because refugees have to be present when beneficiary lists are verified prior to distributions.
31. However, some indicators point to the fact that GFD in the form of full ration can limit the development of medium-term livelihoods options such as agriculture. Interviews in Gondjé, where the full ration lasted only one year, showed that the rapid reduction in assistance made refugees aware of the need to act to secure their own livelihoods as quickly as possible and contributed to a faster development of agriculture than observed in some other camps – Moula in particular – even though it received less agricultural support. Nonetheless, other factors such as more land availability and a traditionally agriculture-oriented population also played a role.

Protection and gender

32. The protection situation is largely satisfactory notably owing to the Integrated Security Detachment (DIS) - a police unit in charge of security in the refugee camps - set up by UNHCR and CNARR late 2010 and which works well. Each

camp also has a volunteers committee supported by UNHCR and the DIS, which conduct night patrols. Female refugees have noted an improvement in security at night and also greatly appreciate the possibility to refer to female DIS officers, who make up 25 percent of the DIS workforce in the visited camps and included high-ranking officials. However, the lack of funding for the DIS since early 2012 could threaten the continuity of the DIS and compromise refugees' security.

33. The refugees move a great deal, mostly in search of economic opportunities that do not exist in the camps (land, employment, trade), for family visits, education and health. While CNARR issues free and timely safe-conducts, cases of non-respect of this document by the police have been reported. In addition, the safe conduct system does not cover cross-border movements, in negation of the reality acknowledged by both agencies that these are movements are frequent. As a result both agencies lack related information and, while the evaluation could not verify it, key informants interviews revealed that some refugees may benefit from assistance on both sides of the border or come back to the camps only when distributions occur.
34. The direct effects of food assistance on protection are few but some instances of gender-based violence identified by the evaluation should be noted, including:
 - An increase in the incidence of conjugal violence following distributions. Conflicts occur when husbands seek to constrain their wives to sell part of the ration to purchase alcohol or "luxury" food items (meat, fish). One of the main income generating activities of women - brewing and selling alcohol, sometimes made with the cereals from the food ration - exacerbates conjugal violence.
 - Violence against women who venture outside the camps to grow food or collect firewood and the fact vulnerable refugee women are sometimes forced to prostitute themselves to meet basic needs, including food. Generally speaking, better food security limits the need for refugees, especially women, to resort to strategies that could endanger them.
35. Some exclusion errors in the assistance to PSN in Yaroungou should also be noted. While all women-headed households with children are considered PSN and are thus entitled to food assistance, some of them have been excluded as their new status has not been correctly assessed, highlighting the difficulty for HCR to verify matrimonial status in the local context.

Factors Contributing to the Results

External Factors

36. **Contextual constraints.** There are positive factors benefitting the development of refugee livelihoods (see paragraph 8). In addition, the ethnic and linguistic proximity between the refugees and local population has allowed for social and economic ties and the refugees have generally been well received. Also, all the camps visited have permanent markets, are close to markets in neighbouring towns and the commercial network and the supply of foodstuff work well.
37. Nevertheless, there are constraints to attaining self-reliance and agriculture, which is the main activity of the great majority of refugee households, has its limits. The inadequate traditional production systems and limited land area provided by local authorities to the refugees (keeping them from letting land lie

fallow to maintain soil fertility, which is necessary given how few inputs are used) lead to declining yields and production after two or three years.

“We want to go home. The soil here is so poor. We did our best, but the land is worn out.” Man, Yaroungou.

38. The destruction of crops by livestock, pests and striga also causes significant losses as do the recurrent conflicts between (refugee and local) farmers and herders, which are difficult to prevent and settle given that many herders are protected by the authorities and enjoy impunity. Finally, since 2008 the Maro area has been hit by a series of floods, affecting 21 percent and 32 percent of the population of the Moula and Yaroungou camps respectively in 2010, and as many as 42 percent of the Yaroungou refugees in 2011 (UNHCR). The floods led to loss of harvests in varying degrees, affecting the food security and livelihoods of the affected households, and further increasing the pressure on available land.
39. Shorter-term activities are also subject to constraints linked to the depletion of natural resources associated with the arrival of the refugees and to limitations of the daily labour market.
40. **Under-funding.** Recurrent under-funding⁶ has had a negative effect both on the rations distributed (see paragraph 49) and on the ability of the agencies to implement activities for livelihoods development. It is owed in part to the substantial needs arising from new emergencies in the country (an influx of Sudanese refugees influx from 2003, internal displacements between 2007 and 2010 and drought in the Sahel region since 2011⁷), but also to donors withdrawing because they opposed the extended use of GFD in a context considered favourable for self-reliance (the EC stopped supporting the food assistance programme after 2010 to focus on the LRRD programme).

Internal factors

41. **Coherence between objectives and assistance.** Despite the stated objectives and a recent convergence of planning, livelihood-promotion activities have been limited, tardy or lacking in relevance. WFP’s food-for-work activities, which could have provided work opportunities in a context of high competition for daily work, have remained marginal, while cash transfers to replace or supplement reduced GFD have been envisaged only very recently. The livelihood support implemented by UNHCR and its partners has been overall insufficient and focused on constrained traditional agricultural systems, while too little attention has been given to suitable alternatives such as support for vegetable gardening, irrigated rice cultivation, soil fertility replenishment, income-generating activities and training.
42. The relocation of refugees from the Daha camps in 2011 (situated in the immediate vicinity of the border despite the UNHCR standards, which call for a distance of 50 kilometres) to the Moyo and Koy camps has also had a negative effect on the livelihoods of the refugees, who had to start over. A significant number of refugees preferred not to relocate, in spite of losing the benefit of assistance.

⁶ Specifically, WFP EMOPS (2003--2006) were only 67 percent and 54 percent funded.

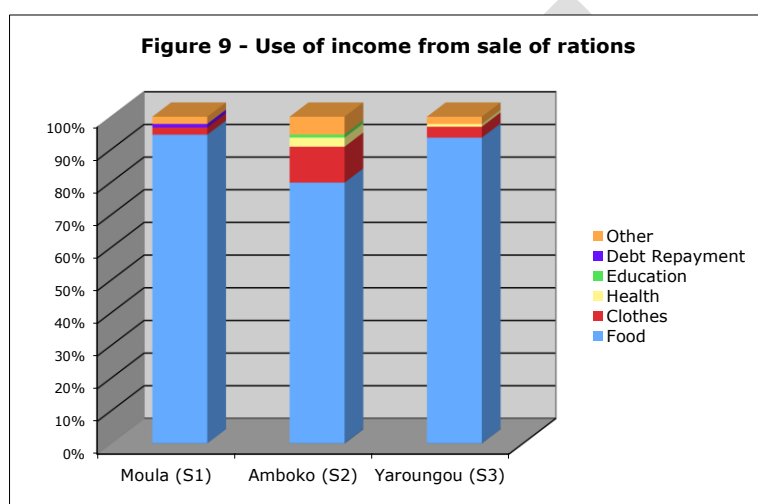
⁷ By comparison, Sudanese refugees in Eastern Chad were estimated to total 281,000 in 2011 and the internally displaced persons 180,000 in 2010 (UNHCR).

43. **Transition strategy.** There is no consensus strategy amongst stakeholders for the transition to self-reliance. WFP has articulated a phase out strategy in its operational documents but has not always adhered to it. UNHCR established a transition for the Goré camps in 2011. In practice, two different transition models have been adopted.
44. In Yaroungou, GFD was cut in 2007 without the intermediary stage of the reduced ration⁸ and UNHCR's livelihood support activities stopped to be replaced by the LRRD programme, which also introduced cost-recovery for health, education and water. Since then, monitoring by UNHCR of the evolution of the situation was scarce and coordination with the LRRD actors limited. Conversely, in the Goré camps, half rations replaced full rations and UNHCR continued a mix of traditional and LRRD livelihood support as cost recovery was introduced for education and water but not for health.
45. The contested reintroduction in Yaroungou of GFD (half rations) in early 2012 on the grounds of a deterioration of the refugees' living conditions suggests that the transition might have been too brutal and the more progressive Goré model has garnered more support. However, it also highlights a fundamental divergence between partners (including the two agencies and stakeholders of the LRRD project) on the fact that, given the local context, integration through self-reliance might imply a certain level of degradation of some aspects for refugees' living conditions.
46. The absence of a common strategy is also manifest in the fact that UNHCR opposes the move to replace GFD by targeted distributions on the 25 percent most vulnerable households planned by WFP for the near future, even though increased livelihood support rather than continued GFD seems a more sustainable solution. The lack of consensus has had a negative effect on refugee participation in, and support for, the transition process, and refugees have strongly opposed any reduction of assistance.
47. **Programme management.** The programme has generally suffered from a lack of supervision and monitoring and evaluation, though this improved after a WFP programme officer was assigned to Goré in 2010. A lack of mutual trust between WFP and UNHCR has also complicated joint decision-making, limited mostly to JAM recommendations – and this despite twice-yearly coordination meetings at the country office level and good coordination at sub-office level.
48. The nutrition programmes have also suffered from the lack of a clear strategy and actions to combat chronic malnutrition in spite of the needs (and although it is one of WFP's corporate Strategic Objectives). Lack of technical skills and weaknesses in monitoring systems as well as low coverage, insufficient screening and surveillance systems, and a lack of specific measures to prevent and treat anaemia were also noted. The prevailing lack of technically qualified partners in the region and high turnover of partners negatively impacted the implementation and outcomes of the nutrition programmes.
49. **Use of rations.** The energy value of rations has often been lower than planned. Between October 2007 and August 2008, and again in 2010, the full rations at the Goré camps provided less than 1,500 kcal, and reached only between 1,000 and 1,200 kcal at Moyo and Koy in 2009 and 2010. Rations have consistently lacked

⁸ Assistance to PSN and ad hoc distributions in the lean seasons continued.

certain nutrients, which has impeded prevention or reduction of the persistent high levels of chronic malnutrition and anaemia. Furthermore, the rations have rarely included corn-soya blend, and the lack of supplementary foods has been a problem, especially for children under the age of 30 months.

50. Failure to comply with the Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) clauses on UNHCR provision of fresh foods and WFP facilitation of grain milling⁹ has had a negative effect on the use of the GFD rations by the refugees, who have had to sell part of the rations to meet those needs. At Moula, Amboko and Yaroungou respectively, 56 percent, 48 percent and 48 percent of the households stated that they had sold part of their ration from the last distribution, usually less than a quarter of the amount received (59 percent of the households).



Source: 2012 evaluation survey.

51. The move from monthly to bimonthly distributions in the Goré camps since 2010 (in accordance with the 2009 JAM recommendation to reduce distribution costs) has further increased ration selling as refugee households manage their resources in the short-term.

Conclusion

52. In the first years following displacement, GFD in the form of full rations allowed a majority of refugees to reach acceptable food consumption levels and kept global acute malnutrition under control. In this respect, the expected short-term outcomes were met and the situation of refugees compared favourably to that of the local population on these indicators.
53. On the other hand, the evolution expected overtime towards an increased capacity of the refugees to develop their own livelihoods in the medium term and a related ability to maintain their food security despite a reduction in food assistance did not occur, implying that the longer-term outcomes were not met.
54. Despite different periods of residency in Chad, refugees from the S3 (long-term) and S1 (short-term) camps display similar characteristics in terms of income sources and wealth levels, which do not match those of the local population. (Conclusions cannot be made on the S2 situation, given the special socio-

⁹ MOUs signed by WFP and UNHCR in 2002 and 2010 divided responsibilities between the two agencies.

economic characteristics of the refugees in Amboko). As a result of the limited refugees' livelihoods development, the reduction in rations after the first few years of displacement has resulted in a deterioration of refugees' food consumption both in terms of quantity and quality, and in an increase in short-term coping strategies. The ensuing need to search for better opportunities than those provided in the camps, has led to an increase in refugee movements, exposing refugees and in particular women to protection issues.

55. Amongst the factors explaining these results, the evaluation underlined contextual factors such as the limited size of plots available to refugees, which constrained production, yield and ultimately the income derived from agriculture, the main activity of most local and refugee households. Also, while different levels of access to land, seeds and tools have affected the level of agricultural development in the various camps, the evaluation confirmed that prolonged GFD in the form of full rations acted as a disincentive for refugee to engage in medium-term economic activities such as agriculture.
56. This could have been mitigated by the prompt implementation of alternatives to GFD. Yet, the only complementary activity to GFD included in the WFP programmes was food for work and its implementation remained limited. Similarly, UNHCR's livelihood support activities have been overall insufficient and too focused on constrained agricultural systems while suitable alternatives including IGA were insufficiently developed.
57. Other limiting factors constraining progress towards self-reliance included the lack of a consensus transition strategy between the two agencies and with their partners, which limited common decision-making beyond the JAM recommendations and had a negative impact on an already precarious funding situation. Shortcomings were also noted in programme management, notably for nutrition, worsened by the lack of technically competent partners.
58. Acute malnutrition remained generally acceptable, but chronic malnutrition and anaemia remained high overtime and were not given sufficient attention. Besides confirming the positive role of full rations on acute malnutrition, the evaluation was not able to establish clear links between these results and the food assistance received implying that other factors played a role. Some instances of gender-based violence deserving attention were noted.
59. While most refugees ultimately wish to be repatriated, no measures were taken to inform them of the evolution of the situation in potential return areas. Yet, in a transitory manner, and given the lack of interest for third country resettlement, the option of integration in Chad appears the most likely of the durable solutions in the medium to longer-term. The evolution towards self-reliance, one of the cornerstones of integration, posited by the theoretical model did not occur partly because assistance results could have been better, but also because self-reliance is constrained by the ratio of resources and opportunities available compared to the combined needs of the local and refugee populations. Ultimately, the goal of full self-reliance might need to be relativized (a certain level of assistance will continue to be necessary).

Recommendations

Recommendations on longer-term strategies and durable solutions

1: UNHCR should lead the formulation of a consensual strategy for the transition to self-reliance. Such a strategy should be defined with the concerned relief and development actors in the host area; set realistic goals for self-reliance and integration given the local context; and acknowledge that in certain contexts such as Chad where the population lives below assistance thresholds, self-reliance will imply a degradation of refugees' living conditions. Failing to recognise this will continue to result in incoherence of action and lack of consensus amongst partners.

2: WFP and UNHCR should pursue alternative and complementary activities to GFD congruent with the self-reliance objectives.

- WFP should urgently consider the introduction of alternative food assistance modalities to GFD, such as cash and vouchers, food for work, school feeding programmes or vulnerable group feeding.
- UNHCR should enhance its support to traditional livelihoods (agriculture) and increase alternative and complementary activities that have proven effective locally (vegetable gardening, irrigated rice cultivation, soil fertility replenishment, income-generating activities and professional training).

3: UNHCR should formulate specific camp site selection criteria taking self-reliance objectives into account so that local authorities can select appropriate sites for refugees to settle in, thus preventing the need for subsequent relocation.

4: UNHCR and CNARR should more closely monitor refugee movements and facilitate spontaneous returns of refugees in their country of origin.

UNHCR and CNARR should improve their monitoring and understanding of the motives of refugee movements. UNHCR should also encourage CNARR to officially authorise cross-border movements and support "go and see" visits enabling refugees to assess conditions in their country of origin and take informed decisions concerning their return. Finally, WFP and UNHCR should enhance the coordination with their respective programmes in the Central African Republic to prevent double-dipping.

5: WFP and UNHCR policy and programme support offices at global level should take note of recommendations 1 – 4, which are likely to be applicable beyond Chad, in other displacement contexts where self-reliance objectives are formulated. Particularly noteworthy is the importance for UNHCR to lead in the first years after displacement the formulation of a consensual strategy for the transition to self-reliance and for WFP to introduce early on alternative food assistance modalities to GFD to support rapid withdrawal from GFD.

Recommendations on programme implementation

6: WFP and UNHCR should enhance the management, monitoring and evaluation of assistance.

- Monitoring systems should be strengthened to allow more informed decision-making.
- Given diverging opinions between WFP and UNHCR on the phasing out of GFD, a JAM mission should be conducted shortly and a strict monitoring of refugees' food security situation and access to basic services should be systematized when GFD is reduced or discontinued.

7: WFP and UNHCR should promote an enhanced use of food rations by beneficiaries by respecting the MOU clauses concerning the provision of fresh foods by UNHCR and WFP facilitation of cereal milling. The GFD distribution frequencies should also be harmonized across the camps and bi-monthly distributions avoided.

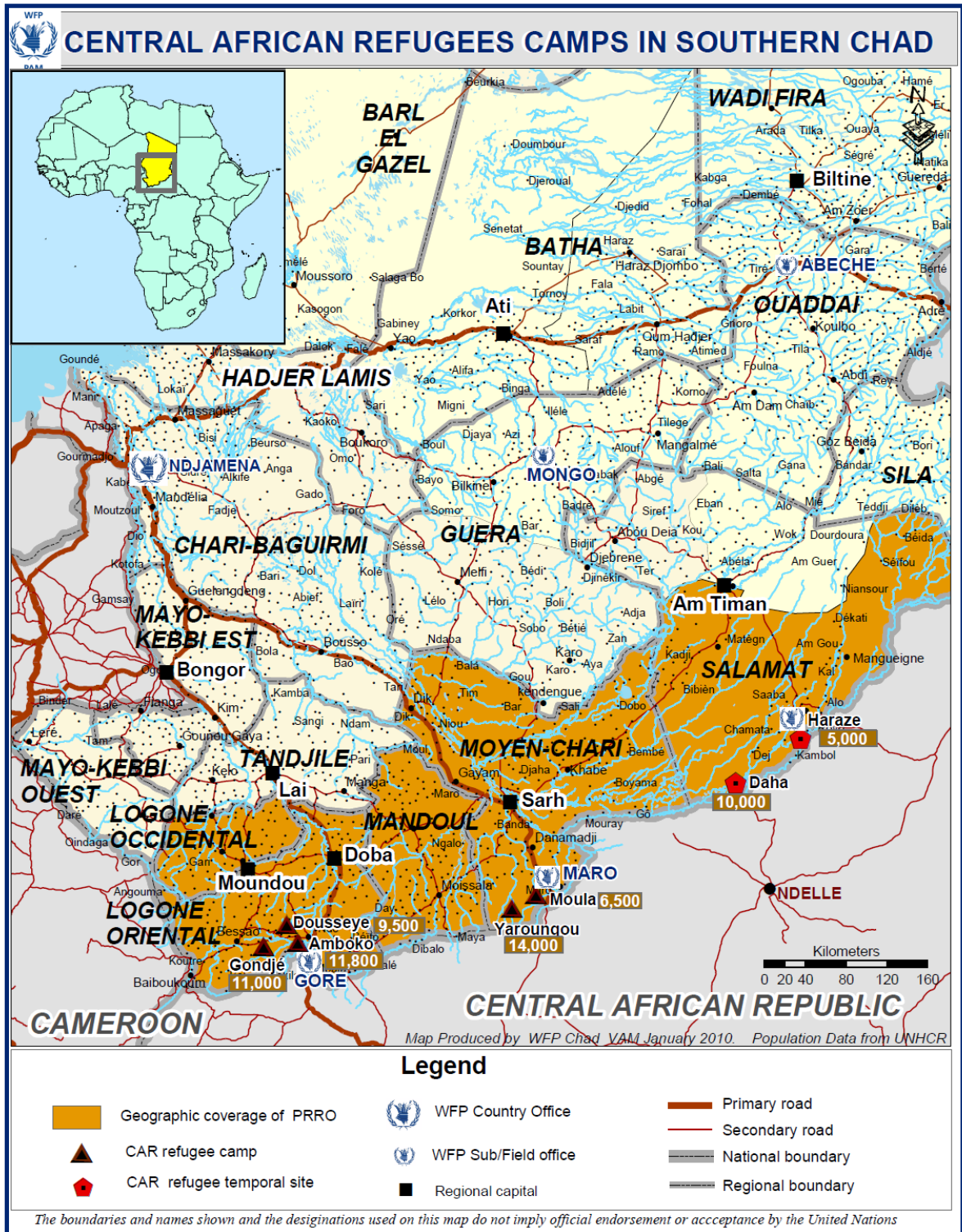
8: Protection.

- UNHCR should set up a monitoring system to track the occurrence and evolution of protection issues, notably those related to gender-based violence.
- UNHCR should also seek to reduce post-distribution conjugal violence; provide alternative income generating options to women brewing alcohol and avoid exclusion errors notably of female PSNs.
- UNHCR should advocate for an increased engagement of relevant actors including other UN agencies and the government to address specific protection issues, including those linked to the conflicts between farmers and herders.
- Finally, donors should continue funding the DIS as long as there are refugees from the Central African Republic.

9: UNHCR should enhance the relevance of nutrition strategies and improve their implementation and monitoring.

- UNHCR should adopt a flexible, context-specific approach and formulate a specific public health strategy for Dosseye, where acute and global malnutrition rates are higher than in the other camps and deserve particular attention. This should include robust nutrition-promotion actions targeting mothers and fathers.
- A strategy to combat anaemia should also be formulated and active monthly screening for malnutrition of all children under 5 should be implemented in all camps to improve the identification of malnourished children.
- UNHCR should ensure that nutrition surveys are conducted during the same period of the year to improve the analysis of the evolution of malnutrition.
- To improve the management and implementation of nutrition activities, WFP and UNHCR should invest in developing the technical competencies of theirs and partners' staff, and UNHCR should establish medium-term partnerships with actors specializing in the prevention and treatment of malnutrition with a view to reducing high turnover rate of partners.

Map



Acronyms

CAR	Central African Republic
CNARR	Commission Nationale pour l'accueil et la réinsertion des réfugiés et des rapatriés – National Commission for the Reception and Resinsertion of Refugees and Returnees.
DIS	Détachement Intégré de Sécurité – Integrated Security Detachment
EC	European Commission
EMOP	WFP Emergency Operation
GAM	Global Acute Malnutrition
GDF	General Food Distribution
JAM	Joint Assessment Mission
LRRD	Linking Relief Rehabilitation and Development
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MUAC	Mid-Upper Arm Circumference
PRRO	WFP Protracted Relief and Recovery Operation
PSN	Person with Special Needs
S1,2,3	Camps representatives of the Situation 1, 2 or 3.
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme